

Reject Treaty, Irish Urge in Senate Hearing

Republican Foes of League Join in Tumult of Cheers as Envoys, Rebuffed at Paris, Assail England

Walsh Foresees Rebellion

'Nothing Could Dim Wilson's Record More Than Ratifying Pact,' Says Cockran

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30.—Ireland had its day in court—refused its representatives at Paris—before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in what amounted to an all-day hearing to-day. Bourke Cockran, Justice Coahan, Michael J. Ryan, Ex-Governor Dunne of Illinois, Frank P. Walsh and a host of other prominent Irish Democrats tore the league of nations covenant and the peace treaty to shreds while an enthusiastic crowd of Irish-American men and women packed the big committee room and overflowed down the corridors, cheering their speakers.

All day long, save for a brief recess for lunch and a short hearing of the Greeks who wished to protest against the treaty giving Thrace to Bulgaria, the speakers poured the treaty.

Cockran Speech Praised

Bourke Cockran made what Senator Lodge afterward declared to be the greatest speech of his life. Even Senator Phelan, of California, who is not on the committee, but who has been counted to vote with the President without wavering, joined in the wild applause at its conclusion, while Senator Brandegee forgot his normal legal formality and joined in the tumult.

The stronger the attack on the league or treaty, apparently, the better the big crowd of Irishmen and women liked it, judging from the applause. Jeers greeted Mr. Cockran's reference to the President's suggestion for a separate resolution embodying the objections of this country to the covenant and treaty.

"We citizens of the United States of Irish blood," said a memorial read to the committee, "but attached above all things to this Republic and its constitution, respectfully pray that the proposed treaty now before you be rejected as a direct violation of the principles on which this country was founded, as they were defined by President Wilson."

Denounces Article X

"Ireland has been asserting continuously her claim to independence for eight centuries. One-fifth of this entire population of the island is of Irish extraction. We ask that Ireland be not the only nation excluded from the benefit of the glorious principles enunciated by Mr. Wilson as those which the great war was fought to establish. We especially denounce Article X of the proposed league of nations as a device to stifle the conscience of civilization and render it impossible for mankind to bring to an end the oppression of weak nations enslaved by powerful neighbors."

"The conscience of civilization, the only force to which the oppressor can be made to yield, would no longer be able to take effective jurisdiction of wrongs perpetrated by powerful nations on weaker people. No struggling nation has ever achieved its independence except through the aid of other nations."

Sees British Sea Menace

Taking particular exception to the league of nations proposal, Justice Coahan declared it would be "intolerable" to give Great Britain six votes in the league assembly to one for the United States.

"If we enter into a scheme which leaves to another country the mastery of the seas we place ourselves voluntarily in the position where we shall be at the mercy of other countries as a matter of right. We are asked also under the proposed plan practically to give up the right of self-defense. We insist that this is in no sense a league of nations, but is simply a cover for an Anglo-American alliance under which the freedom of America would be abdicated and the power of the governing classes in England permanently secured."

Mr. Walsh, chairman of the American commission on Irish independence, declared the league would not be more than half the world in rebellion. He said he always had been a Democrat "and almost a socialist," but that the President's friendliness toward Ireland was the man who will stand up and "keep him from the great mistake he is about to make."

Offers Paris Data

Mr. Walsh offered to give the committee "in executive session" reports of the interviews between members of the Irish-American delegation sent to Paris and President Wilson and other American peace delegates. At the suggestion of Senator Johnson, Republican, California, the committee voted to receive the reports and print them for public circulation.

When Ireland separated from Great Britain in the uprising during the war, Mr. Walsh said, "it was a tragedy, never." The Irish were willing to "right to the death," he asserted, if it became necessary.

Describing his experiences at Paris, where his committee was with the hearing at the peace conference, Mr. Walsh read the names of a long list of delegations from small nations who called on the Irish-American delegation to ask why the fourteen points were being disregarded. The witness said he understood that the peace conference "drew lines on the map by mistake" in several cases and that several nations were being treated as "second-class citizens."

Mr. Walsh said he was present at the open meeting when the league covenant was approved and that various people were jumping up over the hall to make suggestions, "but Mr. Clemenceau blandly said, 'there being no objection, the covenant is agreed to.'"

The league covenant, Mr. Walsh declared, was "a perversion" of the ideas of the men who really wanted a league.

"No interpretation and no amendment," he said, "can make this an honest document."

Referring to the provision about disputes arising in the league the witness said that "a dispute is going to arise very quickly about Ireland." The league assembly and council, he said, would be "stacked" because the members were admittedly bound by a series of secret agreements.

"All Paris knew," said the witness,

"that the ideals for which the United States entered the war were circumvented at the peace table. President Wilson, though a man of honest ideals, found that every one of his fourteen points had been abrogated by secret treaties."

Mr. Walsh declared Sir Eric Drummond, permanent secretary of the league, would have greater power than a majority of the council.

Guns Trained on Dublin

"The English army is in Ireland to-day," he said, "with every device for dealing death. I saw them fix the emplacement for machine guns to sweep the City Hall in Dublin."

The jails are crowded with the best men in Ireland. Why? Only because they are Republicans. Thousands of dollars worth of property is being taken. Everything is being done to break the spirit of those people.

"If this league is assented to 200,000 men stand ready to die to bring the world back to the ideals for which America has stood."

Michael J. Ryan, of Philadelphia, another member of the Walsh committee to Paris, said that the Irish claims were based on the principles of President Wilson.

Mr. Ryan said he had been told that only ten minutes were allotted for the consideration of the league of nations covenant by the peace conference. "Was there any difference between the steamroller as used in the United States and in France?" asked Senator Borah.

"No," replied the witness. "We regarded it with admiration."

Mr. Ryan was asked for a hearing at Paris, Ryan said, it was referred to Colonel House.

"I suggested," he continued, "that President Wilson and the other delegates be brought together to the White House and that all of the five delegates never had come together to discuss any question."

Dunne Assails British Rule

Mr. Dunne, who also was a member of the Walsh committee, said he had visited Ireland, and was convinced that "the British rule in Ireland is an insistent upon and demanding an independent republic."

"To repress and suppress this overwhelming sentiment," he said, "the British government maintains a standing army of approximately 100,000 men in Ireland. Jury trials for political offenses have been abolished; the habeas corpus is practically suspended; the right of assembly is suppressed; free speech and a free press are prevented by the most outrageous censorship, and proscription of meetings; public and private houses are entered and searched and seized without warrant, and men, women and even children are being arrested without warrant and held in jail without trial, or deported to England, prisoned and held without any limitation as to the terms of imprisonment."

"By Article X of the proposed treaty now under consideration by the Senate, the American Republic is asked to perpetuate this character of government in the twentieth century and to assist the British government to maintain the same."

Cockran Makes Final Plea

In his address closing the argument for the Irish cause, Mr. Cockran, a native of Ireland, made an impassioned plea for rejection of the treaty. Although he had followed President Wilson in the political and had believed profoundly in the President's ideals, he said, there could be no greater calamity than ratification of the treaty he negotiated at Versailles.

Tracing the struggles of Ireland through many "attempts" by British rulers to exterminate her, he said that England could not do justice in Ireland if she tried, and the point never had been reached when "the only alternative to extermination is emancipation."

"All your leagues of nations," he declared, "won't keep Ireland under the domination of this incubus. All the powers of the earth can't do that. 'Is there in this treaty a single word of which any one can be proud? Does it bring freedom to any single people except as an act of revenge against the conquered and dismembered foes? The league covenant is admitted by its friends to be imperfect. Shanting is an abomination. Yet we are told we must accept it. Must we since when has that word been applied to the American people?"

No Disrespect to Wilson

"I mean no disrespect to the President of the United States. His place in history is a high one. The words in which he enunciated the principles of the war will forever be the priceless possessions of the nation. The fourteen points are not dead, they can never die. But I believe the only thing which can dim his high place in history will be the acceptance of this treaty."

Referring to a Senate speech by Senator Walsh, Democrat, Montana, saying that only one avenue to Irish independence, involving aid from an outside nation, was cut by the league covenant, Mr. Cockran declared if this were true then it meant "that the only avenue is cut off."

The committee interrupted its hearing of the Irish spokesmen to devote an hour to the claims of Greece to Thrace.

Protests Are Varied

Resuming the Irish hearing, the committee was addressed briefly by Lieutenant Governor W. W. McBowen, of Montana, who said sentiment in his state was "very strongly in favor" of Irish independence.

John Murphy, of Buffalo, N. Y., told the committee that England was seeking "under the auspicious title of a league of nations to draw a veil of iron and the markets of the world, where, by a new tariff, imperial tariff, the products of our factories will be handicapped in their efforts to obtain a foreign market."

D. C. O'Flaherty, of Richmond, Va., told the committee that "as a Virginian, as a Protestant, as a Mason and as a Democrat," he believed ratification of the treaty would only "make the world safe for hypocrisy."

He presented a resolution of 5,000 people in Richmond, expressing opposition to the proposed league of nations which does not protect all American rights and ideals, and which binds us to guarantee the territorial integrity of the British and Japanese empires.

A brief opposing the views expressed by the witnesses was filed with the committee by Albert E. Kelly, of New York, and five others. The brief protested against the "attempt of representatives of a fraction of Ireland known as the Sinn Fein party, or kindred organizations favoring the movement in the United States" to bring the Irish question into discussion of the peace treaty. The brief was not read, but was ordered put into the record of the hearing. The signers said they were not Irish born and "just plain, hard working American citizens with no axe to grind."

Disloyalty Charged

The Sinn Fein "faction," the brief set forth, has no right to take part in the discussion of the league of nations because it "failed to support the Allies" in the war, conducting a propaganda hurtful to the Allied cause and giving aid and comfort to the foe by creating strife and turmoil at home.

Statements that Ireland has not self-government were denied, the brief saying the Irish have the franchise, have a representative government and are subject to laws made by Parliament in the same manner as for England, Scotland and Wales.

Ireland is not suppressed religiously nor industrially, it is declared, and never has been one undivided nation, approaching unity only under British rule. Injection of the Irish question into American politics, it was argued, would raise racial and religious issues

54 Amendments Adopted by Committee

FIFTY-FOUR amendments to the peace treaty have been adopted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. They are:

An amendment to transfer former German political and economic rights in the Shantung peninsula, given to Japan by the peace treaty, to China.

Fifty amendments designed to bar the United States from representation on various commissions created by the peace treaty to supervise such matters as boundaries, plebiscites, internationalized boundaries, the government of disputed areas, etc.

An amendment giving the United States voting power in the league equal to that of the British Empire, including its self-governing dominions.

An amendment providing that in any dispute involving a country which has dominions or parts of empire represented in the league assembly, all should be barred from the vote settling a dispute of one of them with any other.

An amendment restricting the powers of the American representative on the reparations committee.

One amendment is still pending for consideration. It is: A proposal to strike out the provision for an international labor organization.

foreign to the principles of American life.

Democrats Are Absent

When the hearing opened there was not a Democratic Senator present, while the only Republican absentee was Senator McCumber, of North Dakota, the strongest friend of the league and treaty on the Republican side. The Republicans, Lodge, Bran-

don, Borah, Harding, Knox, Moses, Johnson, New and Fall, ranged along their side of the committee table. The speakers and stenographers occupied the vacant Democratic side.

Later Senators Swanson and Pittman came in. Mr. Swanson to stay all day, and Mr. Pittman for a few minutes. Senator Shields was the only Democratic member to appear, dropping in for part of the afternoon session.

Shortly after Frank P. Walsh had wished that more Senators could be present, Senator Brandegee suggested the absence of a quorum, which put the fact that only two Democratic Senators were present in the permanent record of the committee.

The treaty opponents were delighted with the whole situation. When the sergeant-at-arms of the Senate appeared to bring Senators over to the Senate chamber to "make a quorum" there, Mr. Brandegee commented tartly that the committee had permission to sit during the Senate sessions, while Mr. Borah told the official to tell the Senate to adjourn.

Five Days To Be Granted

Vienna for Consideration

Of Finished Document

PARIS, Aug. 30.—The treaty of peace to be handed the Austrian delegation next Tuesday does not solve the problem of the disposition of Fiume, according to "Le Temps."

Five days' time will be granted the Austrians in which to consider the finished document.

The council concluded its examination of the Austrian treaty at this morning's session and approved the covering letter. The text will be sent to the printing press this evening. Premier Clemenceau presided at the meeting of the council.

Neither Clemenceau Nor

Poincare Likely to Run

PARIS, Aug. 30. (By The Associated Press).—The approaching elections have been the subject of considerable discussion among the members of the Chamber of Deputies who now are freely commenting on the probable next President of the republic.

President Poincare, it is declared, will not be a candidate for a second term, and it also seems quite improbable that Premier Clemenceau will stand for the office, as he is known to have said he would not after the elections and has no ambition to go to the Elysee. Several days ago when asked if he would stand for the Presidency, the Premier is quoted as having replied:

"No! Just think if I should be appointed and then run afoul of another Clemenceau as Premier!"

Prominent among the candidates is Paul Deschanel, President of the Chamber of Deputies, who is credited with being favored by a large number of the members of the present House. It is expected that nearly 300 members of the present Chamber will vote for Deschanel, and M. Deschanel is reported to be certain of four-fifths of their votes.

There is, of course, no basis for estimating what his strength would be among the new members of the body. Antonin Dubost, President of the Senate, also has his followers.

Alexandre Ribot, former Premier, seems to be expected to present the formidable opposition to M. Deschanel. The name of former Foreign Minister Louis Barthou also is mentioned, but many of the deputies appear to think he is too young.

Modification of Yugoslav

Constitution Being Considered

PARIS, August 30.—Modification of the Yugoslav constitution in the direction of federalization is under consideration, according to dispatches from Belgrade, Croatia.

Under this plan, it is pointed out, Montenegro would be able to join the Slovene confederation, and at the same time preserve her integrity as a separate state.

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Hiram Johnson Is Selected to Trail Wilson

Borah to Remain and Lead Fight Against Treaty in Senate While President Is Touring the Country

Gompers Assails Delay

Upholds Labor Provisions and Demands Ratification; Nelson Attacks Knox

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30.—Definite decision to keep Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, in Washington during the rest of the treaty fight, instead of sending him out behind the President to attack the league of nations and peace treaty, was reached by the anti-league Senators to-day. Senator Hiram Johnson, of California, will start a tour from Chicago the latter part of next week, and will swing out to the Pacific Coast, speaking at Seattle, probably Portland and San Francisco.

Senator Borah is being kept in Washington because the leaders think it important that he should be on the floor of the Senate throughout the debate. He is one of the readiest men on his feet in either House of Congress, whereas they think Hiram Johnson is the most smashing critic of the league and treaty before an audience.

"The irreconcilables" are much encouraged over the situation, they declare. One of this group declared to-night that a Democratic Senator had told him he now looked for the defeat of the whole treaty as a result of the change in popular opinion toward ratification.

Find Illustration

This Senator took the view that the announcement that two American regimes are going to Silesia had driven home to many people throughout the country just what mixing into foreign entanglements meant. The announcement that the troops were going, he said, translated what had been a rather academic phrase, so far as most people are concerned, into a part of their lives.

The insistence of most of the speakers at to-day's hearing of the Irish-Americans by the Foreign Relations Committee also cheered "the irreconcilables," especially as all of the speakers to-day and a tremendous percentage of the Irish vote in the United States are not only Democratic, but, in most instances, strongly regular. So they are counting on to-day's demonstration to weigh not only with Irish Senators, but with Senators whose states include blocks of Irish voters.

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Samuel Gompers issued a statement to-day through the League to Enforce Peace, criticising the Senate's delay in ratifying the treaty. It said, in part:

"The covenant for a league of nations and the treaty of peace, of which it is a part, negotiated at Paris, hold the first world agreement among the nations to keep all that has been secured for labor and to make the standards already gained universal, advancing and improving for all men. This agreement is not yet in force. The Senate of the United States has had the covenant and treaty for eight weeks, during all of which it has been in a committee. Until it is ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate, the covenant and treaty are not safe and the United States is not a party to it."

Protects Labor

"The covenant and treaty delayed so long in the Senate proposes to effect this. They declare labor is not a commodity. They make it the right and duty of every man to bring before a world tribunal conditions anywhere which are perilous to his own labor. The treaty looks to raising labor conditions to their highest present level in all lands and ending the competition of unfair conditions in the future so that there shall be international conditions as well as international cards."

"This cannot come in a day, in a year or in a decade, but it is possible to turn the world of nations in this direction, to give the command of 'Forward, march,' to keep the world moving on this great end is won. This cannot be done if the treaty is moved or delayed. Senator Fall, of New Mexico, has already proposed that the labor articles of the treaty be cut out under the pretence that they level down. They do not."

"The article of the treaty creating a conference of labor, in which all nations are represented, provides that the article shall be interpreted in accordance with the following principle: 'In no case shall any member be asked or required, as a result of the adoption of any recommendation or draft or convention by the conference, to lessen the protection afforded by its existing legislation to the workers concerned. The labor articles of the treaty were drawn by labor men for labor men. They will stand.'"

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"Senator Knox takes the position that all the United States is called upon to do is to declare by resolution of Congress a status of peace. He ignores the fact of American leadership, a pledge given the world of nations, a purpose in that leadership and he does not recognize the truth that the fate of nations, stricken by this war, is leaning on the strong arm of this nation to-day."

"He would have us take on the ignominy of deserting the stricken world in this hour of its crisis. He would have us, after we have come to the rescue of mankind at the crucial moment and saved France from coming under the iron heel of German militarism, leave the ruins of that France to be saved to be gathered up by her enemy, an enemy whose hatred and evil designs have not been changed by the forced signing of this treaty."

De Cartier, Belgium's First Ambassador to U.S.

Former Minister at Washington Is Promoted; King and Queen to Sail Next Month

BRUSSELS, Aug. 30.—Baron de Cartier de Marchienne left Brussels yesterday for Washington as the first Belgian Ambassador to the United States.

King Albert, Queen Elisabeth and Crown Prince Leopold will leave for America between September 20 and 24 on board a United States warship leaving from Antwerp.

Baron Cartier de Marchienne has since February 1, 1917, been Belgian Minister at Washington. The office was only recently raised to the rank of an embassy. He was a member of the Supreme Economic Council of the peace conference and was charged with the study for a plan for the liquidation of the world's food control. He also represented Belgium on the Allied Commission on Reparations.

He was married to Mrs. Hamilton Cary, of New York, in Paris July 1 last.

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